

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2070

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 10475

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR,JA, US, KN

SUBJ: UTSUNOMIYA VISIT TO PYONGYANG

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUMMARY: DURING RECENT PEKING VISIT, LDP DIETMEMBER UTSUNOMIYA MADE SECRET SIDE VISIT TO PYONGYANG AND HELD HOURS OF TALKS WITH KIM IL-SUNG JULY 19. EMPHATICALLY DEYNING HE ACTING AS INTERMEDIARY, UTSUNOMIYA TOLD PRESS THAT NORTH KOREAN ATTITUDE TOWARD US IS CHANGING GRADUALLY AND THAT CONDITIONS FOR CHANGE OF US POLICY HAVE BEEN PEPAED. NORTH KOREA WANTS TO CONVERNT ARMISTICE AGREEMENT INTO PEACE TREATY, AND DESIRES REDUCTION OF TENSIONS AND PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF PENINSULA. FONOFF OFFICIAL COMMENTED THAT UTSUNOMIYA IN POLITICAL TROUBLE AND NEEDS "SPECTACULAR" TO BOLSTER STRENGTH AT POLLS. GOJ POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR ROK HAS NOT CHANGED IN SLIGHTEST. MIKI HOWEVER, IS PERSONALLY AND PHILOSOPHICALLY INCLINED TOWARD BROADENING CONTACT WITH DPRK AS WAY OF REDUCING TENSIONS IN KODREAN PENINSULA. END SUMMARY.

1. AT PRESS CONFERENCE ON OCCASION OF LDP MEMBER UTSUNOMIYA'S RETURN TO TOKYO JULY 29, IT WAS REVEALED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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HE HAD VISITED PYONGYANG SECRETLY AND HELD SEVERAL HOURS OF TALKS WITH KIM IL-SUNG ON 19TH. UTSUNOMIYA SAID HE WOULD NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY ON CONTENTS OF HIS TALKS WITH KIM UNTIL HE HAD REPORTED TO PRIME MINISTER MIKI PERHAPS

AS SOON AS JULY 30 UTSUNOMIYA DID, HOWEVER, SAY FOLLOWING (AS REPORTED JULY 30 ASAHI):

2. BEGIN QUOTE: (TO QUESTION POINTING OUT THAT THERE ARE RUMORS OF HIS ACTING AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE US AND KOREA) THAT IS ABSOLUTELY NOT TRUE. HIS PURPOSE THIS TIME WAS THAT I HAD TO GO BEFORE JULY 10, IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESSING QUESTION OF SETTLING THE TRADE ACCOUNTS WITH NORTH KOREA, AND THAT IS WHY I WENT HURRIEDLY. (EMBASSY COMMENT: DESPITE UTSUNOMIYA DENIAL, RUMOR THAT HE PLAYED INTERMEDIARY ROLE FOR US CONTINUES TO APPEAR IN MEDIA. NHK TV MORNING NEWS CARRIED FOLLOWING SENTENCE: "ACCORDING TO CLOSELY CONNECTED SOURCES, IT IS A FACT THAT UTSUNOMIYA HAD BEEN ASKED SOMETIME AGO BY AN INDIVIDUAL CLOSE TO HIGH OFFICIALS IN THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, TO SERVE AS A MEDIATOR IN IMPROVING AMERICAN NORTH KOREAN RELATIONS". NEWSMEN ARE BEGINNING TO QUESTION EMBASSY ON SUBJECT. END EMBASSY COMMENT)

3. AT THE TALKS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE NORTH KOREAN SIDE, VARIOUS SUBJECT MATTERS CAME UP. LAST YEAR, I ALSO HAD TALKS WITH CHAIRMAN KIM FOR 13 HOURS, AND THEREFORE, I ASKED WHETHER HIS VIEWS HAD CHANGED OR NOT, SINCE VIETNAM. WHAT THE NORTH KOREAN SIDE DESIRES IS MUTUAL ARMAMENTS REDUCTION, EASING OF TENSION AND THE PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA.

4. ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE U S IS CHANGING GRADUALLY. AT THE MIKI-FORD TALKS THIS TIME, IT IS BETTER NOT TO BIND EACH OTHER. IT IS BETTER NOT TO RE-CONFIRM SOMETHING LIKE THE "ROK CLAUSE," WHICH IS A THING OF THE PAST, AS IT WERE THE GOLDEN RULE.

5. THE NORTH KOREAN LEADERS' BASIC VIEW IS THAT THE OTHER PARTY TO THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IS THE U S AND THAT THEY WANT TO CHANGE THIS TO PEACE AGREEMENT. AT THE PANMUNJOM TALKS, TOO, THE ROK IS NOTHING MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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THAN AN OBSERVER, AND IT IS STRANGE FOR THE PARK GOVERNMENT TO PROPOSE A NON-AGGRESSION AGREEMENT. AS FOR MUTUAL ARMAMENTS REDUCTION, THEY THINK IT DESIRABLE TO REDUCE THE ARMED FORCES OF BOTH SIDES TO BELOW 100,000 MEN.

6. (TO A QUESTION ASKING WHETHER HE HAS NO INTENTION OF TRYING TO PERSUADE THE AMERICANS ON THE KOREAN QUESTION) THAT IS WHAT I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DO SINCE SEPTEMBER OF LAST YEAR. ONE YEAR AGO, WHEN I EXPLAINED THIS PLAN TO CHAIRMAN KIM IL-SUNG, HE WELCOMED IT GREATLY. BOTH CHINA AND NORTH KOREA EMPHASIZED THAT UNLESS THE PARK GOVERNMENT TAKES ACTIONS AGAINST THEM, THEY HAVE NO INTENTION OF GOING TO WAR, AND THAT TALKS MUST BE PUSHED. THE FEELING

IS THAT THE TIME FOR THE U S GOVERNMENT TO RESPOND TO THIS
IS APPROACHING. IF ONE WERE TO ACT FROM THE THEORY OF
AN ANTI-COMMUNIST WALL, ONE WILL BE LEFT BEHIND. THE
VIEW OF REGARDING NORTH KOREA'S PEACE AGREEMENT PROPOSAL
SIMPLY AS A PROPAGANDA IS WANING IN THE U S IT IS
NECESSARY FOR JAPAN, TOO, TO CONSIDER WAYS TO STABILIZATION,
WHERE THERE WILL BE NO SHEDDING OF BLOOD.

7. (AS FOR THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE ARE SIGNS OF A
CHANGE APPEARING IN U S KOREAN RELATIONS) I DO NOT KNOW
BECAUSE IT IS A MATTER OF THE U S BUT CONDITIONS HAVE
BEEN PREPARED. THERE ARE CASES WHERE NO ACTION IS TAKEN
FOR A LONG TIME, EVEN WHEN THE CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN
READIED, BUT IT CAN BE SAID THAT THE CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN
PREPARED. THERE IS INFORMATION SUCH AS THAT THERE HAVE
BEEN CONTACTS BETWEEN THE U S AND KOREA IN ALGERIA AND
RUMANIA, BUT NORTH KOREA LEADERS DENIED THIS. END QUOTE.

8. POLCOUNS JULY 30 APPROACHED YOSUKE NAKAE, DEPUTY DIRGEN FOR
ASIAN AFFAIRS (REPORTEDLY SOON TO BECOME DIRGEN), FOR COMMENT ON
UTSUNOMIYA PRESS REPORTS. NAKAE SAID NEITHER HE NOR ANYONE ELSE
IN FONOFF KNEW PRESISELY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIKI POLICY
STANCE AND UTSUNOMIYA VISIT TO PEKING AND PYONGYANG. IT IS KNOW
THAT UTSUNOMIYA AND MIKE MET PRIVATELY JULY 11 FOR EXTENDED
DISCUSSION BEFORE UTSUNOMIYA DEPARTED ON HIS TRIP, AND NORTH KOREAN
TELEVISION IS REPORTED TO HAVE SHOWN UTSUNOMIYA IN YONGYANG MEETING
WITH KIM IL-SUNG. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT UTSUNOMIYA DOES NOT
REPRESENT GOJ POLICY AND THERE SHOULD BE NO IMPLICATION THAT HE
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WAS SENT AS OFFICIAL EMISSARY.

9. NAKAE SAID HE FELT THREE FACTORS ARE INTERMIXED IN THE BACK-
GROUND OF UTSUNOMIYA'S MOST RECENT FORAY INTO KOREAN POLICY AREA.
(A) UTSUNOMIYA IS COMMONLY BELIEVED TO BE IN EXTREMELY PRECARIOUS
POLITICAL POSITION WITHIN HIS TOKYO DISTRICT. HE FINISHED LAST
AMONG FIVE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES IN LAST GENERAL ELECTION AND IS
BELIEVED TO BE FACING PROBABLE DEFEAT IN NEXT ELECTION -- AT
HANDS OF SHINTARO ISHIHARA, LDP'S CANDIDATE DEFEATED BY GOVERNOR
MINOBE IN TOKYO THIS SPRING. UTSUNOMIYA, THEREFORE, PROBABLY
IS SEEKING A POLITICAL "SPECTACULAR" WHICH COULD BOLSTER HIS
WEAK POSITION BEFORE ELECTION EXPECTED LATE THIS YEAR. (B) GOJ
POLICY TOWARD SOUTH KOREA IS UNCHANGED AND WILL NOT CHANGE FOR
FORESEEABLE FUTURE. IT REMAINS IN JAPAN'S INTEREST TO
WORK WITH U S IN ENSURING MAINTENANCE OF ROK THAT IS STRONG
ECONOMICALY AND POLITICALLY. THUS, JAPANESE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE,
FRIENDLY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (INCLUDING MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE),
AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT WILL CONTINUE TO BE JAPAN'S POLICY
COURSE TOWARD ROK. (C) THERE IS NO QUESTION, HOWEVER, THAT PRIME
MIKE AND LDP "DOVES" (INCLUDING UTSUNOMIYA FIRST AND FORMOS) ARE
INCLINED TO SEEK WAYS TO AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH NORTH KOREA AND
CONSTRUCT "SOFTER" ENVIRONMENT AROUND KOREAN PENINSULA WITH THE

AIM OF MINIMIZING ACTIVE TENSIONS ON PENINSULA. JAPANESE TRADE, CULTURAL, SPORTS AND OTHER UNOFFICIAL CONTACTS ARE CONCEIVED TO FIT THIS PRESCRIPTION.

10. THE UPSHOT OF THIS MIX OF FACTORS IS THAT, AS NAKAE CANDIDLY ACKNOWLEDGED, FONOFF ITSELF IS NOT ALWAYS SURE OF NUANCE THAT WILL COME THROUGH IN POLICY STATEMENTS AT ANY GIVEN MOMENT. NAKAE WOULD EXPECT SOME OF FLAVOR OF MIKI (AN UTSUNOMIYA) PHILOSOPHY TO BE REFLECTED IN CONVERSATIONS IN WASHINGTON. FONOFF ESTABLISHMENT, INDEED, WOULD NOT QUARREL WITH THIS POINT OF VIEW, EXPECT THAT EXTREME "DOVES" LIKE UTSUNOMIYA WOULD PURSUE NORTH KOREAN INTEREST REGARDLESS OF HARM IT DOES TO SITUATION IN ROK AND ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION. FONOFF, WHICH FEELS IT REPRESENTS CONSISTENT LINE OF GOJ POLICY ON THIS, STRONGLY ADHERES TO PROPOSITION THAT WHAT EVER "NUANCE" GUIDES POLICY, IT MUST NOT DO DAMAGE TO CRUCIAL POLICY STAKE IN CONTINUED STABILITY AND STRENGTH OF SOUTH KOREA.
SHOESMITH

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